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ABSTRACT

The paper reported findings from a 2-year (1966-68) panel study of status projection development during late adolescence. The analysis, which focused on black and white girls from rural East Texas, is sequential to previous studies (RC 007 777 and RC 007 842). The paper specifically examined the integration of girls' occupational and educational aspirations and expectations to their projections regarding marriage and future familial status roles. Comparison of the aggregate distributions suggested the frames of aspirational and anticipated reference of a substantially large proportion of the girls, black and white, were not integrated either at the time of the initial survey contact, when the girls were high school sophomores, or at the time of the second contact 2 years later. Expectations appeared to be slightly more integrated than aspirations in both years for whites. Generally, the association between marital-family orientations and career or educational aspirations and expectations tended not to increase inversely. The associations which did change were: (1) for whites, the association of desired age of marriage to occupational aspirations and the association of expectation to work outside the home to occupational and educational expectations; and (2) for blacks, the association between fertility expectation and education expectation. (KM)

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UNREALISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF FRAMES OF ASPIRATIONAL REFERENCE OF RURAL NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS: A REFUTATION OF POPULAR THEORY**

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Introduction

Sociologists prominent in the field of occupational aspiration research have stressed the lack of viable theory to explain and predict status attainment (Haller and Miller, 1963), particularly the inability to explain the developmental process, per se (Kuvlesky, 1970; Cosby and Legere). Compounding and contributing to the latter is the lack of effort to test that theory which does exist. While sociologists have debated for a decade or more the relative merits of theories which characterize the occupational choice process as a rational decision-making process (Ginzberg, 1951; Super, 1953, 1957) or as essentially adventitious (Katz and Martin, 1962), few have attempted empirical research which was designed to resolve the argument or which would clarify and supplement these theories.

This paper reports findings from a two-year panel study of status projection development during late adolescence -- a period which comprised, for probably most of the youth in the sample, the latter part of the pre-work stage of their development. The paper is sequential to a related analytical effort by the author and associate (Thomas and Jacob, 1970) regarding occupational and educational aspirations and expectations of rural boys. This previous analysis failed to support the notion that occupational and educational status projections become progressively more realistic during this stage of youth's development.

The present analysis deals with the status projections of rural girls. Unlike the previous one, it focuses on a factor which has been neglected

in status projection research but which would be an essential element of the rational decision-making process as it pertains to occupational and other status-role choice: congruency or integration of status projections within a frame of aspirational or anticipated reference. This concept seems especially critical to understanding the occupational-choice process of females. The study focuses specifically on the integration of girls' occupational and educational aspirations and expectations to their projections regarding marriage and future familial status-roles.

RELEVANT THEORY AND RESEARCH

"Frame of aspirational reference" is a logical derivative of the concept, "status-set" (See Merton, 1957). Since individuals hold a number of positions or statuses simultaneously, it is probable that youth will orient themselves towards not one but a number of future statuses. They would, therefore, hold a set of status goals, more or less integrated and differentially valued -- in Merton's terminology, "a frame of aspirational reference."

This concept has especial relevance to the status attainment process, because in order to predict specific goal-oriented behavior, one should not only have knowledge of the definition of an individual's goal towards a specific status, but his goal definitions towards other statuses, how his pursuit of the other goals may conflict with his pursuit of the specific goal in question and vice versa, and the differential value he places on his various goals. The concept, frame of aspirational reference, has especial relevance to the developmental process of status projections, because the frequently postulated increasing realism of youth would entail greater integration of the goals in an aspirational set so that pursuit of one would not conflict with pursuit of another. Primacy would be granted the goals most valued, and other goals would be redefined as necessary to effect their accommodation to those more valued.

The status attainment process of females offers a striking example of how pursuit of some goals, such as marriage and children, would conflict with the pursuit of others, such as career and education. Normative

behavior according to societal prescriptions that a woman be a wife and mother and grant primacy to the wife-mother roles conflicts with the commitment requisite to preparing for, establishing, and maintaining a career -- at least if the female is to compete effectively in the labor market. It seems likely that as girls approach adulthood and the time of decision-making, they will become more cognizant of the dilemma that will be facing them and, if the process of occupational or other status-role choice is indeed a rational one, they will attempt to realistically integrate these goals.

Past research demonstrates rural teenage girls project rather high occupational and educational attainment.[1] Such projections are often unrealistic in view of prescribed marital-family status-roles and, as previous research suggests, in light of the girls' own marital-family aspirations and expectations (Kuvlesky, Obordo and Preston, 1969; Thomas, 1971). For most of the girls, realistic integration of their goals would entail redefinition and accommodation of egoistic, achievement goals to aspired marital-family status-roles. While for some accommodation may work in the converse -- that is, marital-family goals may be redefined in order to accommodate career or educational goals -- it is likely that as most girls grow older, they become more cognizant of the normative "feminine" role, more influenced by pressures to conform to this role and, consequently, more familially than career oriented.

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[1]See annotated bibliographies by Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1969, and Kuvlesky and Jacob, 1968, respectively, for a brief description of many of these research efforts and their findings.

The principal objective of this study is to explore if the status projections of girls do become more realistic in that they become more integrated during late adolescence, as the youth approach adulthood and the time of decision-making. Specifically, it is hypothesized that as girls redefine their marital-family aspirations to mean a greater projected commitment to marriage and familial status-roles, the lower their occupational and educational goals will become. Indicators of such redefinition of marital-family goals to be used in this study are: decrease in desired age of marriage, increase in number of children desired, decrease in desire to work outside the home after marriage, increase in value of desire to marry and raise a family relative to other goals.

Following the example of a number of other sociologists, aspirations are distinguished from expectations (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966). Extending this distinction to the concept of status-projection set, one may speak of a "frame of anticipated reference" (i.e., sets of expectations) as well as a frame of aspirational reference (Pelham, 1969).

Theoretically, expectations should reflect perceived barriers to goal attainment more than aspirations, and increased cognizance of probable goal-blockage is, thus, more likely to be reflected in change in expectations than in change in aspirations. As youth become aware of the conflicting demands of disparate goal pursuit, one would expect more change towards realistic integration within frames of anticipational reference than within frames of aspirational reference. This proposition will be tested using the following indicators of marital-family expectations: Number of children expected and expectation to work outside the home after marriage.

A number of sociologists have studied aspirations and/or expectations within several goal areas simultaneously. (See among others: Kuvlesky and Thomas, 1971; Pelham, 1968; Kuvlesky and Upham, 1967; Youmans, 1965; Drabick, 1963; Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Morland, 1960; Sperry and Kivett, 1964; Schwarzweller, 1960). However, almost all of the studies have been limited to occupational and educational projections, and few of the authors have analyzed their results in terms of the congruency or integration of these projections. (A notable exception is Pelham, 1968.) Viewed in this perspective, the findings of at least two studies suggest that anticipated frames of reference may tend to be more integrated than aspirational frames of reference (See Drabick, 1963; Schwarzweller, 1960; and Pelham's interpretation of their results, 1968). However, there is virtually no evidence extant regarding whether or not youth's aspirations and/or expectations become more integrated as the youth mature and none, to the author's knowledge, regarding integration of the specific status areas of concern in this paper, marital-family vs. occupational and educational projections.

Race is used as an analytical control variable in this analysis, because Negro and white youth have been found to hold different orientations towards occupational and educational achievement and marriage and their families of procreation. Negro girls, in the rural South at least, appear to desire and anticipate less commitment to future marital-family status-roles in that they are more prone towards working outside the home after children and accord marital-family goals less importance relative to other goals than white girls (Kuvlesky, Obordo, and Preston, 1969; Thomas, 1971). Generally, Negro girls have been found to have somewhat lower occupational

aspirations and somewhat higher educational aspirations and expectations than white girls (Kuvlesky, 1969:8).

METHODS

The Sample

The sample is composed of Negro and white girls from rural East Texas. The girls were questioned in 1966, when they were high school sophomores, and again in 1968, regardless of their school status at that time. Eighty-nine percent of the original sample was recontacted in 1968. Only the girls who were interviewed both in 1966 and 1968 are included in this study. Because ethnicity and marital status are likely to be factors influencing marital-family orientations, Mexican-American and married boys and girls have been excluded from the sample.

Evidence of a general similarity in the 1966 marital-family projections of the girls who were and who were not recontacted in 1968 (as indicated by the low association between orientations and recontact status, Appendix Table 1) suggests the failure to recontact a small portion of the girls did not significantly alter the quality of the sample. Although many of the youth not recontacted had dropped out of school, a factor which may significantly have affected their 1968 orientations, it is likely that these girls subsequently married and, thus, would not have been eligible for inclusion in this study anyway.

All of the youth resided in rural,[2] East Texas at the time of the first

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[2] The counties in the sample area were classified 100 percent rural in 1960 U.S. Census. None were adjacent to metropolitan areas.

interview, and the large majority maintained similar residence in 1968. The sample area was also characterized by low median family incomes[3] and a large Negro population.

The family backgrounds of the Negro and white girls were markedly different in certain respects, reflecting differences found between Negro and white communities generally. The Negro girls came from lower socio-economic backgrounds than the whites, their families were much larger and more often characterized by parental absence and marital instability (Appendix Table 2).

Instruments

In 1966 all of the youth were administered questionnaires in school in a group setting. Most of the youth were questioned in similar manner in 1968. The majority of youth who had to be contacted individually were given personal interviews; a few had to be mailed questionnaires.

Occupational aspirations and expectations were elicited by open-ended questions which requested the respondents to state the occupation that they would most like to attain during their lifetime "if they were completely free to choose" and the occupation that they really expected to attain. The responses have been categorized as follows: (1) Professional; (2) Clerical-sales and skilled; (3) Semi- and unskilled.

Similar questions were used to elicit educational aspirations and expectations. However, they were structured whereby the respondents chose one among several alternative responses ranging from "quit high school"

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[3] Median family incomes in the sample counties ranged from $1,737 to $2,451 per year.

to "college plus additional study."

Desired age of marriage was obtained from an open-ended question which asked the respondent to state the age at which she "would like to get married." The responses have been grouped into three categories: (1) 19 or less -- representing the girls who desired to marry almost immediately after finishing high school; (2) 20-22 -- representing those who desired to wait a few years, perhaps allowing themselves time to pursue egoistic goals, such as vocational education or junior college or a clerical or similar level career; (3) 23 or over -- representing those who may have been allowing themselves time to finish college or become well established in a career.

To elicit fertility projections, the respondents were asked how many children they wanted and how many they expected to have. Structured alternative responses ranged from "none" to "8 or more".

In answer to questions regarding their desires and expectations to work outside the home after marriage, the girls were requested to choose one of the following alternatives:

1. Not work outside the home at all.
2. Work part-time until I have a child.
3. Work full-time until I have a child.
4. Work part-time even after I have children.
5. Work full-time even after I have children.

To elicit relative importance of marital-family goals, the girls were asked to rank their desire "to get married and raise a family" and six other goals -- i.e., occupational, educational, leisure-time, money, place of residence, and material possessions -- by order of importance to

themselves. The responses have been grouped into three categories: High (rank of 1 and 2); Moderate (rank of 3-5); Low (rank of 6 and 7).

Design for Analysis

Both aggregate and individual levels of analysis are utilized. The first to describe general patterns in frames of aspirational and anticipated reference; the second for more precise statistical testing.

The analysis will consist of: (1) a brief description of the girls' status projections in 1966 and how they changed in 1968; (2) looking at the association between marital-family status projections and occupational and educational projections at the two different points in time; (3) looking at the relationship between individual change in marital-family projections and concomitant change, if any, in occupational and educational projections, focusing particularly on the girls who evinced high occupational and educational aspirations and expectations in 1966.

ANALYSIS

Status Projections as High School Sophomores

The aggregate distributions of the status projections the girls evinced when they were initially contacted as high school sophomores reveal a general lack of integration between their occupational and educational aspirations and expectations and their aspirations and expectations regarding marriage and future familial statuses and roles. (See Summary Table 1 and the more detailed distributions in Appendix Tables 3 to 12.)

For the white girls, the lack of integration appeared slightly more pronounced in regard to aspirations. About half or more of the girls,

Table 1. Summary of Salient Differences and Similarities in Girls' Orientations in 1966 and 1968 by Race.

Orientations	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
Occupational:				
% Desiring Professional	59	59	61	55
% Expecting Professional	42	35	55	40
Educational:				
% Desiring College	46	49	58	61
% Expecting College	34	33	56	39
Marital-Family:				
Mean Age of Marriage Desired	21.6	21.2	22.6	22.2
% Desiring to Marry at Age 22 or less	77	74	47	61
% Desiring to Marry at Age 20 or less	43	44	25	24
Mean No. Children Desired	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.9
% Desiring 2 or more Children	97	97	95	95
% Desiring 4 or more Children	32	39	39	35
Mean No. Children Expected	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0
% Expecting 2 or more Children	99	98	93	92
% Expecting 4 or more Children	30	33	39	37
% Desiring to Work Outside Home after Marriage	85	83	90	89
% Desiring to Work Outside Home After Children	17	10	52	43
% Expecting to Work Outside Home After Marriage	86	89	83	78
% Expecting to Work Outside Home After Children	28	28	53	38
Mean Rank of Family Goals	3.7	3.6	5.2	4.9
% Ranking Marital-Family Goals High	31	41	12	14

regardless of race, aspired to professional occupations and a college education (Table 1). Yet the majority desired to marry in their early twenties; almost half of the white girls prior to age 21. Virtually all desired at least 2 children; as many as a third desired 4 or more. While it may be possible to combine career and familial roles to attain all of these goals, the overwhelming majority of the whites indicated they did not aspire to do so as long as children were in the home. Despite this desired devotion to the mother role, however, most of the white girls did not rank familial goals high relative to others.

Some of the white girls' expectations were different than their aspirations, producing what appears to be slightly more integration between expectations than aspirations. The white girls occupational and educational expectations were substantially lower than their aspirations, their fertility expectations about the same as their fertility aspirations, their expectation to work outside the home slightly greater than desire.

For the Negro girls, the general lack of integration of aspirations appeared slightly less than for whites. In the aggregate, their marital-family aspirations appear to have been more aligned with their high occupational and educational aspirations. Whereas the latter were as high or higher than the white girls', in general the Negro girls desired to marry later and as many as one-half desired to work outside the home after having a child. Nevertheless, a significantly large proportion of Negro girls remains who expressed no desire to sacrifice the mother-role for a career. In contrast to this large proportion, however, almost none of the Negro girls ranked marriage and familial goals high relative to education and career.

The aspirations and expectations of the Negroes tended to be more similar than those of the whites. The greatest difference was that fewer expected than desired to work outside the home. Generally, the Negro girls' expectations appear no more integrated than their aspirations.

Change in Projections After 2 Years

There was generally little change in the aggregate distributions of the status projections from 1966 to 1968 (See Summary Table 1 and Appendix Tables 3 to 12); suggesting little change generally in integration of frames of aspirational or anticipated reference.

The aggregate distributions revealed a slight decrease in 1968 in whites' and Negroes' desires to work outside the home after children, but the white girls showed no commitant lowering of occupational goals. If anything, this suggests slightly less, not greater, integration in frames of aspirational reference as the white girls matured. The decrease in Negro girls' desire to work outside the home was accompanied by a slight decrease in the proportion aspiring to professional careers. However, the proportion of Negroes desiring to marry at age 22 or less decreased substantially in 1968, while the proportion aspiring to graduate from college increased slightly.

Aggregate comparisons indicate no significant change in integration of expectations for either the white or Negro girls over the 2-year period. Although in 1968 fewer Negro girls expected high occupational and educational attainment, fewer also expected to work outside the home after marriage and after children.

If girls' occupational and educational aspirations and expectations

did become more integrated with their marital-family projections over time, one would expect the association between occupational or educational projections and marital-family orientation to have become more negative or inverse. That is, one would expect youth who evinced a "high" marital-family orientation (i.e., "high" meaning desire for early marriage, a large family, not to work outside home, and high ranking of marital-family goals) to have had significantly lower occupational and educational aspirations and expectations than those who showed a lower marital-family orientation, and that this inverse association would have increased with time. (In reference to the specific marital-family projections studied, one would expect an increase in the following correlations with occupational and educational aspirations and expectations:

desired age of marriage -- positive
fertility projections -- negative
projections for work outside the home -- positive
rank of family goals -- negative)

Statistical analysis reveals few significant changes in this direction -- generally, marital-family orientation was not significantly associated with occupational or educational projection in 1966 or 1968 (See Summary Tables 2 and 3). The white girls who desired to postpone marriage to a later date than most of their counterparts did have higher occupational aspirations, and the whites who anticipated a greater commitment to work outside the home evinced higher occupational and educational expectations. However, there were two instances for the white girls where observed associations ran counter to the hypothesis. The expected association between desired age of marriage and educational aspiration and between fertility expectation and educational expectation appeared in 1966 but not in 1968.

Table 2. Statistical Analysis Measuring Association Between Occupational and Educational Status Projections and Marital-Family Status Projections of White Girls in 1966 and 1968.

Relationship of Orientations	1966			1968		
	Significance at .05 level	Direction of Association	C	Significance at .05 level	Direction of Association	C
Occupational Aspiration to:						
Desired Age of Marriage	NS			S	Positive	.44
No. Children Desired	NS			NS		
Desire to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		
Rank of Family Goals	NS			NS		
Occupational Expectation to:						
No. Children Expected	NS			NS		
Expectation to Work Outside Home	NS			S	Positive	.49
Educational Aspiration to:						
Desired Age of Marriage	S	Positive	.58	NS		
No. Children Desired	NS			NS		
Desire to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		
Rank of Family Goals	NS			NS		
Educational Expectation to:						
No. Children Expected	S	Negative	.58	NS		
Expectation to Work Outside Home	NS			S	Positive	.61

Table 3. Statistical Analysis Measuring Association Between Occupational and Educational Status Projections and Marital-Family Status Projections of Negro Girls in 1966 and 1968.

Relationship of Orientations	1966			1968		
	Significance at .05 level	Direction of Association	C	Significance at .05 level	Direction of Association	C
Occupational Aspiration to:						
Desired Age of Marriage	NS			NS		
No. Children Desired	NS			NS		
Desire to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		
Rank of Family Goals	NS			NS		
Occupational Expectation to:						
No. Children Expected	NS			NS		
Expectation to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		
Educational Aspirations to:						
Desired Age of Marriage	NS			NS		
No. Children Desired	NS			NS		
Desire to Work Outside the Home	NS			NS		
Rank of Family Goals	NS			NS		
Educational Expectations to:						
No. Children Expected	NS			S	Negative	.65
Expectation to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		

For the Negro girls, a moderately-high inverse correlation was found between fertility expectation and educational expectation in 1968 which did not appear in 1966. This finding is significant for it suggests a substantial lowering of the Negroes educational expectations in 1968 might have been influenced in part by change in fertility expectations.

Relationship of Change in Occupational and Educational Status Projections to Change in Marital-Family Projections

Despite the similarity of the aggregate distributions of responses in 1966 and 1968, substantial proportions of individuals did change their aspirations and expectations over the 2-year period (Appendix Table 13). Table 4 summarizes results of statistics analyzing to what extent the change in marital-family projections was accompanied by change of the predicted direction in occupational and educational status projections. That is, to determine if the girls who increased emphasis on future marital-family status-roles, or increased marital-family orientation, (i.e., decreased desired age of marriage, increased fertility aspirations and expectations, decreased aspiration and expectation to work outside the home, and increased rank of marital-family goals) were more likely to decrease their occupational and educational projections than the girls who did not increase their marital-family orientation.

As shown, the association appeared significant only as it pertained to change in educational aspiration. White girls who raised their desired age of marriage and desire to work outside the home tended to also raise their educational aspiration. Negro girls who increased the rank importance of their marital-family goals accompanied this change with a lowering of

Table 4. Summary of Statistical Analysis of Relationship of Change in Occupational and Educational Status Projections to Change in Marital-Family Orientation.

Relationship of Orientations	White			Negro		
	Significance at .05 level	Direction of Association	C	Significance at .05 level	Direction of Association	C
Change in Occupational Aspiration to Change in:						
Desired Age of Marriage	NS			NS		
No. Children Desired	NS			NS		
Desire to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		
Rank of Family Goals	NS			NS		
Change in Occupation Expectation to Change in:						
No. Children Expected	NS			NS		
Expectation to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		
Change in Educational Aspiration to Change in:						
Desired Age of Marriage	S	Positive	.38	NS		
No. Children Desired	NS			NS		
Desire to Work Outside Home	S	Positive	.44	NS		
Rank of Family Goals	NS			S	Negative	.37
Change in Educational Expectation to Change in:						
No. Children Expected	NS			NS		
Expectation to Work Outside Home	NS			NS		

educational aspirations.

Because a high marital-family orientation is more likely to interfere with professional-career and college attainment, the girls who aspired to such attainment in 1966 were isolated from the rest for analysis (Table 5). In many cases, substantially large proportions of the girls who increased their marital-family orientation from 1966 to 1968 gave up their professional-career and college aspirations and expectations. The data suggest that increase in relative valuation, or rank import, of marital-family goals was quite frequently accompanied by, and, thus, may have been especially influential in, the decrease of the occupational aspirations of these white girls and the educational aspirations of both these Negroes and whites. Decrease in expected involvement in work outside the home also was frequently accompanied by, and, thus, may have been especially influential in, the decrease of the occupational and educational expectations of these Negro girls. Indeed, the lowering of their expectations to work outside the home was almost always accompanied by a lowering of their educational expectations.

Summary of Findings

Comparison of the aggregate distributions suggests the frames of aspirational and anticipated reference of a substantially large proportion of the girls, Negro and white, were not integrated either at the time of the initial survey contact, when the girls were high school sophomores, or at the time of the seond contact 2 years later. Expectations appeared to be slightly more integrated than aspirations in both years for the whites.

Generally, the association between marital-family orientations and

Table 5. Percentage of 1966 Professional and College Aspirants and Anticipants Increasing Their Marital-Family Aspirations and Expectations Who Accompanied This Change with A Decrease in Occupational or Educational Aspiration and Expectations.

Increase in Marital-Family Orientations	White				Negro			
	Professional		College		Professional		College	
	Aspirants	Anticipants	Aspirants	Anticipants	Aspirants	Anticipants	Aspirants	Anticipants
Desired to Marry Earlier	41	---	40	---	33	---	42	---
Desired or Expected More Children	31	30	20	38	43	40	25	45
Desired or Expected Less Commitment to Work Outside Home	23	30	20	13	29	55	27	89
Raised Rank of Family Goals	50	---	50	---	31	---	55	---

career or educational aspirations and expectations tended not to increase inversely, or negatively, as one would expect if frames of aspirational and anticipated reference do become more integrated over time. The associations between aspirations and expectations which did change as predicted were:

> for the white girls, the association of desired age of marriage to occupational aspirations and the association of expectation to work outside the home to occupational and educational expectations;
>
> for the Negroes, the association between fertility expectation and education expectation.

Despite aggregate similarities, many of the girls did change their status projections over the 2-year period, and there was a tendency for change in marital-family aspirations to be accompanied by change in educational, but not occupational, aspirations. Specifically, the data suggest that for the white girls an increase in or maintenance of educational aspirations may have influenced, or been influenced by, an increase in desired age of marriage and desire to work outside the home after marriage or children. For the Negroes, an increase in or maintenance of educational aspirations appears to have influenced, or been influenced by, a decrease in the ranking of marital-family goals. Change in marital-family expectations was not associated with the predicted change in either educational or occupational expectations.

Substantial proportions of the 1966 professional career and college aspirants and anticipants gave up these high occupational and educational projections if they raised their marital-family orientations during the 2-year period. The data suggest that for these Negro and white girls

change in rank import of marital-family goals may have especially influenced a decrease in their educational aspirations and, for the whites only, a decrease in their occupational aspirations. For the Negroes, decrease in expectations to work outside the home was also associated with a decrease of occupational and educational expectations.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

It is concluded that, generally, the aspirations of neither the white nor Negro girls in the sample became more integrated during this 2-year period of late adolescence. Statistical analysis of the association between change in the various status areas suggests that even in the isolated instance where the negative association between marital-family orientation and occupational aspiration did increase, it was not the result of individual effort to more realistically accommodate these goals. However, there does appear to have been an effort by a substantial number of the girls to realistically accommodate educational aspirations to marital-family orientations (or vice versa). The fact that the aggregate associations do not reflect this effort suggests this accommodation was counterbalanced by unrealistic change in the opposite direction of the aspirations of a sufficient number of the other girls in the sample.

As hypothesized, the girls' expectations appear to have become more integrated over time than their aspirations. This is indicated by the fact that the association between martial-family expectations and occupational and educational expectations increased negatively more than the associations between aspirations in these status areas. Again, however,

the associations between change in the various status areas does not indicate this result was due to individual effort to realistically accomodate the expectations. Indeed, such effort on the part of the sample in general appears to have been negligible.

On the other hand, substantial proportions of the Negro and white girls who, as high school sophomores, aspired to professional careers or college educations did appear to realistically accommodate, or integrate, their goals. And, of course, these are the girls who should probably be most concerned with accommodation, since pursuit of such lofty occupational and educational goals would be especially likely to conflict with marriage and family commitments.

Nevertheless, the aggregate distributions still indicate a lack of integration in frames of aspirational and anticipated reference of the sample generally throughout the period of adolescence studied -- especially for the white girls. Furthermore, the findings in general repute the hypothesis that status projections become more realistically integrated during this period. The theoretical implications of this latter conclusion are striking when viewed together with the conclusion of the Thomas and Jacob analysis (1970): that the boys of this sample generally did not define their occupational and educational aspirations and expectations more realistically in 1966 than in 1968. The findings bring into question the theory of rational occupational or other status-role choice and its correlate proposing realistic status-projection development.

The finding that the white girls had such imcompatible aspirations and expectations suggests they have internalized both "egoistic" and "feminine" values and goals (Douvan and Adelson, 1966). As late as the

senior year of high school, most appear not to have been able to reduce the confusion and ambivalence thus created. That is, the girls appear to have internalized the achievement orientation which so conspicuously characterizes American Society — an orientation not incompatible with the capabilities and skills they have developed as a result of America's universal educational system — without abandoning the normative prescription that females marry, have children, and devote themselves to the mother role.

That the Negro girls' expectations were slightly more compatible -- a finding supported by previous research -- probably reflects some cognizance of the conflict which would be involved in the pursuit of incompatible goals. Still, many of these girls appear not to have been aware of the dilemma facing them. A likely consequence of confrontation with this dilemma is - considering the aspirations and expectations of these girls - frustration and perhaps anomie and aberrant behavior.

The process of development of Negro girls' frames of aspirational and anticipated reference appears to be different than the whites'. The Negroes experienced less realistic integration of status projections over time, but their projections were more integrated than the whites' to begin with. The Negroes' aspirations and expectations also appear to have been slightly more integrated than those of the white girls at the time of the final contact, in 1968, although the racial difference was not as marked at this later date.

The Negro girls appeared more willing to sacrifice familial commitment for occupational and educational attainment, a finding which corroborates

previous research results (See, among others: Antonovsky, 1967; Thomas, 1971; Kuvlesky and Obordo, 1969; Kuvlesky and Thomas, 1971). Perhaps this trend is the manifestation of a desire to dissociate themselves from their oppressive environment. Over time, however, the occupational and educational expectations of the Negro girls yielded somewhat to their marital-family status projections, resulting perhaps from a more realistic appraisal of their actual status-role attainment. The implications of their aspirations not following the same trend are frustration and, possibly, anomie.

It is hoped that this study has demonstrated the utility of the concepts, frames of aspirational and anticipated reference, for understanding occupational and other status-projection dynamics. These concepts seem especially applicable to the study of female status-role choice and attainment. As Psathas has pointed out, special theory is needed to explain the occupational-choice process of females, because there are unique considerations affecting women's occupational decisions (Psathas, 1958; also see Pavalko, 1971: 59-61). The interference of marital-family aspirations and expectations is perhaps the most salient of these considerations.

There is still the need for more research testing the theory that status projections become progressively more realistic as individuals mature. The findings of this and the Thomas and Jacob analysis suggest a possible revision or amplification of this theory as it applies to both boys and girls: for many youth, realistic development of status projections does not commence until after high school when individuals are more actively engaged in goal pursuit -- perhaps not until the time when decision-making actually takes place in the labor market, in the family

of procreation, and so forth.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Lambda Coefficients Measuring Association Between 1968 Recontact Status and 1966 Occupational, Educational, and Marital-Family Orientations.

Orientation	
Marital-Family:	
Desired Age of Marriage	.010
No. of Children Desired	.000
No of Children Expected	.000
Desire to Work After Marriage	.009
Expectation to Work After Marriage	.034
Rank Importance of Marital-Family Goals	.000
Occupational:	
Aspiration	.000
Expectation	.000
Educational:	
Aspiration	.000
Expectation	.000

Table 2. Selected Background Characteristics of Negro and White Girls.

Characteristics of Family of Orientation	Negro	White
	----------percent----------	
Parental Absence	29	6
Divorce or Separation	17	2
Main Breadwinner's Job Unskilled or Semi-skilled	66	24
Mother Employed OUtside Home or Looking for Work	67	42
Five or more children	81	33
Mean No. of Children	6.8	3.9

Table 3.

Occupational Aspiration	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
Professional	59	59	61	55
Clerical, skilled	40	40	34	39
Semi-skilled, and unskilled	1	1	5	6
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 4 .

Occupational Expectation	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
Professional	42	35	55	40
Clerical, skilled	32	42	36	48
Semi-skilled, unskilled	26	23	9	11
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 5.

Educational Aspiration	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
Quit high school	1	1	0	0
Complete high school	5	6	3	12
High school + voc. training	39	37	39	13
Junior college	10	7	4	14
College graduate	27	23	26	29
College + additional study	18	26	28	32
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 6.

Educational Expectation	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
Quit high school	1	1	4	1
Complete high school	7	16	3	14
High school + voc. training	48	40	36	29
Junior college	10	10	1	17
College graduate	25	26	25	23
College + additional study	9	7	31	16
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 7. Desired Age of Marriage of Negro and White Girls in 1966 and 1968.

Desired Age	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
19 or less	18	20	12	9
20-22	59	54	35	51
23 or more	23	26	53	40
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 8. Number of Children Desired by Negro and White Girls in 1966 and 1968.

Number of Children	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
0-1	3	3	5	5
2	31	27	42	43
3	34	31	14	17
4	27	30	33	30
5 or more	5	9	6	5
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 9. Number of Children Expected by Negro and White Girls in 1966 and 1968.

Number of Children	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
0-1	1	2	7	8
2	32	30	32	38
3	37	35	22	17
4	22	23	29	22
5 or more	8	10	10	15
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 10. Girls' Desire to Work Outside Home After Marriage in 1966 and 1968.

Conditions for Working	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
Not at all	15	17	10	11
Part-time until child	21	14	17	20
Full-time until child	47	59	21	26
Part-time after child	7	4	28	28
Full-time after child	10	6	24	15
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 11. Girls' Expectation to Work Outside the Home After Marriage.

Conditions for Working	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
Not at all	14	11	17	22
Part-time until child	29	19	15	24
Full-time until child	29	42	15	16
Part-time after child	23	19	37	25
Full-time after child	5	9	16	13
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 12. Rank of Importance Girls Accorded Marital-Family Goals.

Conditions for Working	White		Negro	
	1966	1968	1966	1968
	percent			
High (1-2)	31	41	8	14
Moderate (3-5)	47	30	34	38
Low (6-7	22	29	58	48
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 13. Percentage of Girls Who Changed Their Occupational, Educational, and Marital-Family Orientations From 1966 to 1968.

Orientation	White	Negro
	---------percent-------	
Occupational		
*Aspiration	35	37
*Expectation	40	45
Educational		
*Aspiration	47	61
*Expectation	47	67
Marital-Family		
Desired Age of Marriage	79	69
No. of Children Desired	39	48
No. of Children Expected	53	54
Desire to Work After Marriage	73	60
Expectation to Work After Marriage	64	64
*Rank Importance of Marital-Family Goals	55	52

*Figures indicate change in level, as defined on pages 8 to 10.